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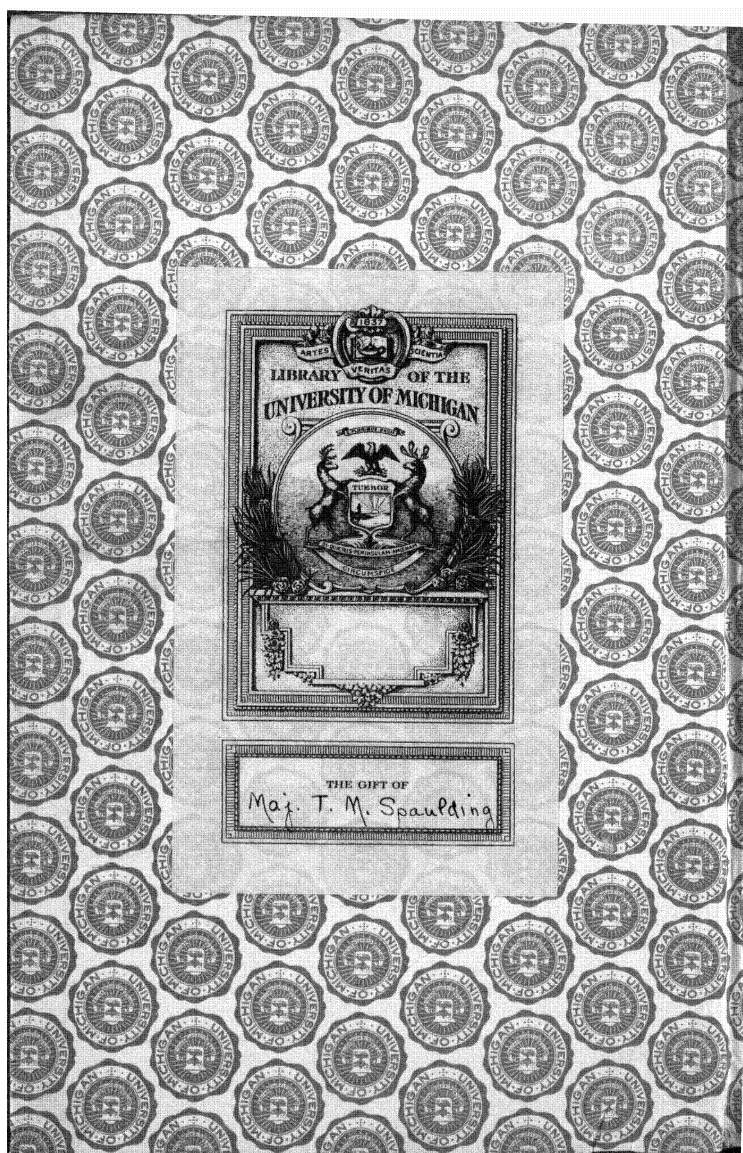
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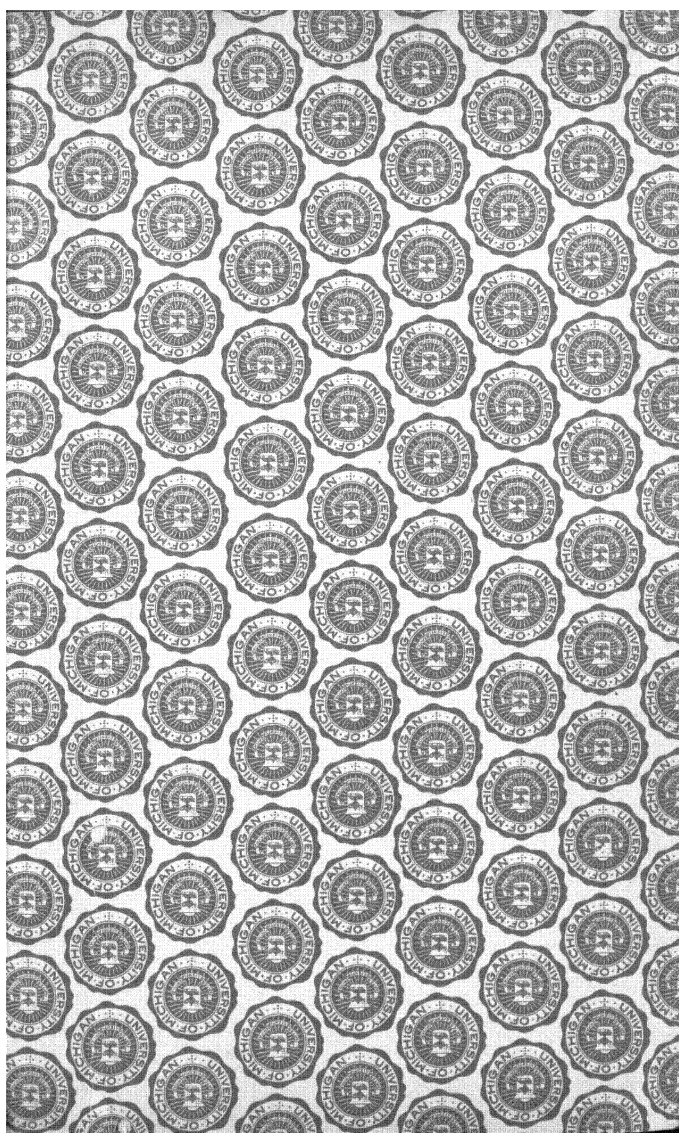
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SEVENTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Hawaiian Historical Society

WITH A PAPER ON THE PARTITION OF SAMOA,
AND THE PAST RELATIONS BETWEEN THAT
GROUP AND THE UNITED STATES, BY
HON. H. M. SEWALL.

HONOLULU, H. T.

1900.

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HONOLULU, H. T.

1900.

OFFICERS, 1900.

PRESIDENT.....	N. B. EMERSON
VICE-PRESIDENT.....	S. B. DOLE
“ “	W. F. ALLEN
“ “	H. M. SEWALL
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.....	W. D. ALEXANDER
RECORDING SECRETARY.....	W. F. FREAR
TREASURER.....	MISS M. A. BURBANK
LIBRARIAN.....	MISS M. A. BURBANK

Wm. J. M. Spaulding
gt.
May 11-1924

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 11TH, 1900.

The adjourned Annual Meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held at the house of its Vice-President, Hon. Harold M. Sewall, on the evening of May 11th, 1900.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Dr. N. B. Emerson, who made some pertinent remarks, urging that more interest should be taken in the objects of the Society, whose work was becoming more valuable every year. The minutes of the last annual meeting were read by Miss Burbank, the acting secretary, and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary, Prof. W. D. Alexander, then read his annual report, after which, the Librarian, Miss Burbank, read her report. In the absence of the Treasurer, Mr. J. S. Emerson read her report, which showed the receipts for the year 1899 to have been \$264.53—expenditures \$256.35—available funds \$346.43

The Treasurer called attention to the fact that the Librarian, although she had been voted a salary of one hundred dollars per annum, had drawn nothing for the past three years. She recommended a vote of thanks for her consideration in this matter and asked the Society to set aside a sum out of the surplus as a payment to the Librarian for her efficient services. The reports were all accepted and ordered to be printed, the recommendations made by the Treasurer were adopted, and the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer were appointed a committee with power to settle with the Librarian.

Mr. W. F. Allen having introduced a motion to amend Article 5th of the Constitution, so that it would read that "the annual meeting shall be held on or about November 28th," instead of "on November 28th," the motion was seconded and accepted, to be finally acted upon at the next meeting. Upon the nomination of Mr. Sewall, Major Robert Emmett of New York was elected a non-resident member, and on the nomination of Dr. Emerson, Mr. W. R. Hoare, H. B. M.'s Consul, was elected a resident member.

The members present elected the following officers for the coming year:

N. B. EMERSON,	President
S. B. DOLE,	1st Vice-President
W. F. ALLEN,	2d "
H. M. SEWALL,	3d "
W. D. ALEXANDER,	Corresponding Secretary
W F FREAR,	Recording Secretary
MISS M. A. BURBANK,	Treasurer and Librarian

The President then introduced Hon. H. M. Sewall, who read a highly interesting and instructive paper on "The Partition of Samoa and the Past Relations of that Group with Hawaii and the United States," which was listened to with rapt attention and received with much applause.

On motion of W. D. Alexander the thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Sewall, and he was asked for a copy of the lecture to be published with our transactions. On motion the meeting adjourned.

W. F. ALLEN,

Acting Secretary.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

I herewith submit the Treasurer's report for the year ending November 28, 1899. It seems to be increasingly difficult to collect the annual dues, from which, I fear, that the interest taken in our Society is decreasing. With the approval of Prof. W. D. Alexander, I have erased from the Collection book the names of most of those members in arrears for three years and more, the collector having reported that he had repeatedly asked them for their dues, and been refused. Several members have withdrawn, so that the number of members at present is not over 137, of whom only about seventy have paid their dues for this year.

I should like to call the attention of the Society to the fact that the Librarian has received no salary for two or three years. She informs me that at first, knowing the Society to be somewhat impoverished by the purchase of Freycinet's reports, she omitted to draw the sum of One Hundred Dollars voted as her annual salary, and that since that time, as the accounts show, she has never drawn her salary.

I should like to move a vote of thanks for her consideration in this matter, and to ask the Society if a certain sum out of the \$300 available on hand cannot be set aside as a present to the Librarian for her very efficient services.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

RECEIPTS.

By balance on hand, November 28, 1898.....	\$ 2 43
Members' dues collected	144 00
Interest on Government bond.....	120 00
Sale of pamphlets.....	50
	<hr/>
	\$ 266 93

EXPENDITURES.

To cash paid Miss Corney for filing papers.....	\$ 102 50
To cash paid Janitor's salary.....	12 00
To cash paid Janitor for poisoning shelves.....	30 00
To cash paid for postage.....	2 75
To cash paid wrappers & addressing pamphlets.	2 10
To cash paid printing Reports	37 75
To cash paid printing and binding receipt books	4 50
To cash paid Bernard Quaritch, bill Jan. 5, '99.	9 75
To cash paid Bernard Quaritch.....	1 05
To cash paid commission on collections.....	3 95
To cash deposited in Postal Savings Bank	50 00
To cash balance on hand	10 58
	<hr/>
	\$ 266 93

AVAILABLE FUNDS.

Balance on hand.....	\$ 10 58
Balance in Savings Bank.....	275 85
Interest due on bonds	60 00
	<hr/>
Total available funds.....	\$ 346 43

DOROTHEA EMERSON,

Treasurer.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

To the Officers and Members of the Hawaiian Historical Society.

GENTLEMEN:—

The additions to the Library of the Society during the past year have been few. The following books have been purchased, viz., “The Languages of the Indian Archipelago,” by J. R. Logan; “Studies in Ancient History,” by John Ferguson McLennan; “Brown Men and Women of the South Sea Islands in 1895 and 1896,” by Edward Reeves; “Old New Zealand, a Tale of the Good Old Times,” by a Pakeha Maori, with an introduction by the Earl of Pembroke; and “Our Maories,” by Lady Martin.

Some books have also been sent as exchanges from other Historical Societies. The work of filing old papers is being carefully attended to, and it is hoped that before long all valuable contributions of papers, pamphlets and clippings will be in such a condition that they may be readily consulted.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY A. BURBANK,

Librarian.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

FOR THE YEAR ENDING NOVEMBER 28, 1899.

It seems to be expected of the Corresponding Secretary of this

Society to render an Annual Report on things in general relating to Polynesian archæology. I cannot help referring here to the great loss sustained by the Society in the death of Rev. C. M. Hyde, D.D., its Recording Secretary, who took a deep interest in the objects of the Society, of which he was one of the founders, and who was an indefatigable worker in the rich field of Hawaiian ethnology.

At a meeting of the Society held at the residence of J. B. Atherton, Esq., July 21, 1899, an interesting lecture on Modern Samoa was given by our Corresponding member, Lieut. W. E. Safford, U.S.N. We may hope before long to receive from him a synopsis of that lecture in suitable form for publication. We also hope to receive from time to time contributions relating to the ethnology, folk-lore, etc., of Guam, where he is stationed, as well as of the rest of the Ladrões.

A work on the Caroline Islands by Mr. F. W. Christian, well known here, has just appeared in London, which is said to contain the results of his researches in regard to the mysterious ruins on Bonabe, but no copy of the work has yet come to hand.

The occupation of Manila by the forces of the United States may lead to interesting discoveries in the archives of the old Spanish convents in that city, not only in relation to the history of the Philippines, but also in regard to the voyages made by the Spanish galleons during the 16th and 17th centuries, and the discoveries made by them. Perhaps the log of the second voyage of Juan Gaetano across the Pacific Ocean in 1555, during which he is believed to have discovered these Islands, may yet come to light.

We desire to call attention to the valuable series of papers by S. Percy Smith, Esq., which is now appearing in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, and which contains the valuable materials which he collected during his tour through the Southern Pacific in the year 1898.

The Trustees and the Director of the Bishop Museum may well be congratulated on the beautiful and elaborate monograph on "Feather Work," which they published last year.

We understand that it will be soon followed by a complete Index or Directory of all the islands of the Pacific Ocean, also by Prof. W. T. Brigham. We shall now look for the publication of Dr. Emerson's translation of David Malo's "Hawaiian Antiquities," which has become the property of the Bishop Museum.

As was stated in a former report, it is very desirable that the Fornander collection of Hawaiian M.S.S. which is now the property of Hon. C. R. Bishop, should be edited and published both in the original and in a translation. In time to come, either the Government of the Territory of Hawaii or this Society should print and thus preserve from oblivion, the old archives of the Hawaiian Government, say from 1820 to 1845, which contain much material that is extremely interesting.

Unfortunately we have no fund to employ for such objects.

We cannot but deplore the dearth of contributions during the past year, but we still hope to hear from Rev. S. Desha, Mr. M. Nakuina, and other *kamaainas*. The ex-Queen has rendered a real service to students of Hawaiian folk-lore by the publication of her translation of the ancient chant of "Kumulipo," and has thereby set a praiseworthy example to her countrymen. The cycle of legends and poetry connected with Hiiaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele are worthy of being preserved, and I understand that our President has taken the subject in hand.

Some of younger members are investigating the subject of the picture writings discovered on the rocks at Koloa, Kauai, near Koko Head and elsewhere, and it is to be hoped that they may succeed in throwing some light on their origin and significance.

Now is the time to rescue from oblivion what little can be recov-

ered of the traditions of the olden time, before the rush and glare of the Twentieth Century shall have completely blotted out of the sight and knowledge of the new generation *ka wa kahiko o Hawaii nei*.

Respectfully submitted,

W. D. ALEXANDER,

Corresponding Secretary.

PART OF A PAPER

ON THE

PARTITION OF SAMOA AND THE PAST RELATIONS BETWEEN
THAT GROUP AND THE UNITED STATES, READ BEFORE
THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 11, 1900, BY
HON. H. M. SEWALL.

When in May, 1886, and not the first time in the history of those troubled and, to the powers concerned, those troublesome Islands, the flag of the U. S. was raised over Samoa, there followed what usually follows the unauthorized, but timely and courageous action of an American representative at a distant post; the recall of that representative, the disavowal of his action, the sending of a Commission to report, the appointment of new officials all around, and then a repetition of history.

The history of the foreign relations of Samoa is full of such repetitions. I only refer to this one by way of introduction. For these events led to the Washington Conference on Samoan Affairs which met June 25, 1887, to which the Berlin Conference on the same subject two years later, the framer of the Tripartite Agreement known as the Berlin Act which has now been dissolved, followed as a part and natural sequence. And it is due to these events, that as the successor of the zealous if erratic Consul whose action had cost him his official head, I learned for the first time, outside of the State Department, through Mr. Carter the Hawaiian Minister at Washington, of political conditions in the comparatively unknown Islands to the Chiefs and Rulers of which I was accredited, and of the relations to these Islands which Hawaii in its new born Polynesian policy, proposed to bear.

At a time already trying, the burden of this loyal and efficient Hawaiian representative had been increased distressingly by the

inauguration of this policy, the despatch of an embassy and mimic man-of-war to Apia, followed by a Treaty of Confederation and his own appointment by the farcial and illy recognized Government and King of Samoa as their Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the American capital. To add to these tangled diplomatic relations the dismissed American Consul on his unauthorized return to his former post, had while, at Honolulu imposed on the credulity of Mr. Creighton, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, and secured the appointment as Hawaiian Vice-Consul. Assuredly the complex local situation at Apia was destined to become more so in its every ramification.

To a man less determined than Mr. Carter, whose whole mind was fixed upon the ratifications of the Reciprocity Treaty (which ratifications were not exchanged until November 1887) and to secure which the course must be kept free from all embarrassment, these events would have been disheartening. It must not be forgotten either that the King and Gibson, who had succeeded Creighton as Foreign Minister, were strenuously opposed to the clause of that Treaty ceding Pearl Harbor to the United States, while it had long been evident to Carter that without this clause, the ratification of the Convention extending the Treaty could not be had.

Upon reaching Honolulu on the way to my post, Mr. Gibson and afterwards the King, restated, but at greater length, what Mr. Carter had said to me on the subject of the mission to Polynesia and in the same somewhat apologetic strain. They both, but especially the Minister dwelt upon the fact that the proposed relations of Hawaii with the South Sea groups were of a mild and benevolent nature, that Hawaii had had a similar mission to these Islands before, and that as regards Samoa, years ago missionaries of the Mormon Church had gone from here to proselyte there.

This interview with Kalakaua and the attractive genius who would have been a notable figure in any land, dwells pleasantly in memory, and it was the recollection of this, and my later

acquaintance in Samoa with the Embassy which had just left, that led me, some time ago to promise this Society a paper on the "Recent relations of Hawaii with Samoa, and other Pacific Groups." But the rapidly following and startling events in Samoa, the abrogation of the Berlin Act, and the partition of that Group, as well as the Union of Hawaii with the United States warrant, I feel, the subordination of the originally chosen topic to a larger one. Without omitting Hawaii's relations with Samoa, therefore, I invite you tonight to a consideration of the extinction of this last surviving sovereignty in the Pacific, of the value to the United States of our rights under the new arrangement, and of the varied, the dramatic and unparalleled relations of Samoa with that country of which Hawaii is happily at last a part.

In the negotiations and events above briefly referred to, leading up to the Berlin Act, (I do not count American relations with Hawaii which stand apart), the United States appeared for the first time as a World power in the Pacific. It was by these that she broke from that "international isolation" which Richard Olney, (whose short service in the State Department embraces the only achievement in our foreign policy during the entire eight years of Cleveland's Administration), defined as an ignominious "shirking of the responsibilities of high place and great power." Insignificant in commercial value Samoa may be, and may be destined to remain, but America's relations with her will hold a distant and conspicuous place in history as a precursor of that policy which yet awaits a fit denomination, that policy of taking our part in the affairs of the World even though this involve, and by war so repugnant to our people, taking part of the World itself, a policy which seems to have been forced upon us but which duty has led us unfalteringly to accept. Whether or not, the abrogation of the Berlin Act and our share in the resulting partition is a progressive or a retrograde step in that policy, does not so much matter. The relations we are to consider, as the first departure from traditions which had hitherto bound us, will mark the real

beginning of this policy and once begun as it has begun, it will be steadily, thoughtfully and patriotically pursued.

The history of American relations with Samoa is to be divided into three periods:

1. That preceding our first treaty.
2. That from this treaty to the joint Act of Berlin.
3. The period since.

The departure from traditions was not as has been commonly represented for the purpose of discrediting the Berlin Act, to be dated from the Act itself, which was the natural result of our intervention in Samoa for over twenty years.

Our naval flag was first borne thither by Wilkes in 1839. He framed a set of commercial regulations signed by the first Malietoa and his chiefs, the first laws promulgated to his people.

In 1872 Commander R. W. Meade received from the chief of Pago Pago, a grant to the United States of the exclusive privilege of establishing a naval station in that harbor. Whether or not this operated as a grant "*In praesenti*" is arguable. As an agreement with the Chief, it was never ratified by the Senate.

The following year a special agent and investigator, Steinberger, was instructed by President Grant to proceed to Samoa, being charged in particular to secure information regarding Pago Pago.

Steinberger is the most interesting character among all the foreign officials who have figured in Samoa's history. In natural gifts, powers of persuasion, influence with natives, and apparent devotion to their interests, he may be called the Gibson of Samoa. And they both were alike in that their lives closed amid clouds and in the utter collapse of the plans upon which their hopes were centred.

Steinberger established a Government and created a distinct impression in the native mind that the United States had established a protectorate. In all this, he exceeded his instructions.

On his return to Washington, Steinberger brought with him numerous petitions praying for annexation.

The prayers of their petitions the President certainly did not grant. But the circumstances of Steinberger's return to them, and the words used by the President in his reply, justified the belief among the Samoans, to which they clung with a persistence which cost the late King and his followers much tribulation and sorrow, that the United States had a peculiar interest in their political future which they and foreign powers were bound to respect.

Through the jealousy of British and German traders and the connivance of the United States Consul, a personal enemy, Steinberger was deported on a British man-of-war.

Steinberger's vicissitudes never eradicated the impression he had made on the Samoan mind.

His mission, abortive as it was, in the purpose he had in view, prevented for the time the absorption of Samoa by any other power, just as Meade's unratified treaty kept Pago Pago open for us to gain six years later, by unequivocal cession.

Second. The period from the treaty to the joint Act of Berlin.

With the deportation of Steinberger, Samoa relapsed into internal strife. Twice in the period I have described, our flag was raised to avert for the time seizure by the other powers, and having served this purpose was withdrawn. And from necessity, and with the approval of their superiors, our Consuls and naval officers continued to take part in the political affairs of the Islands, arranging agreements of peace between the native factions and joining with the representatives of the other powers in the agreement for the municipal government of Apia.

Our constant intervention in Samoa was now to become accentuated.

In 1885 began that series of German aggressions which led directly to the Berlin Agreement.

Every act of these met the protest of the United States representative.

The German Consul General attacked Malietoa's sovereign rights and hauled down his flag within the Municipality. Finally, when the appearance of a German squadron at Apia threatened the seizure of the Islands, our Consul upon application of the King, raised the American flag over the Samoan, and without doubt defeated this purpose.

Secretary Bayard immediately disavowed this act, recalled the author of it, and June 1, 1886 proposed a conference at Washington.

It was at this juncture that Hawaii became a factor in the international situation with results well nigh serious to her, as they were important to the powers in treaty with her.

How long previously, Gibson had been meditating his Polynesian policy does not appear. Prof. Alexander states that in 1883, the year of Kalakaua's coronation, Capt. Tripp and F. L. Clarke were sent as royal Commissioners to the Gilbert Islands and New Hebrides, and a parody on the "Monroe doctrine" was put forth in a grandiloquent protest addressed to all the great powers, warning them against any further annexation in the Pacific ocean, and claiming for Hawaii the exclusive right "to assist them in improving their political and social condition."

In January, 1886, Gibson outlines his plans to Carter. Assurances were to be sought from the European Powers that the recent annexations in the Pacific would be the last. As to Hawaii's part, she sought nothing for herself. Should anything in regard to their foreign relations be deemed desirable by the independent communities of Polynesia, the hegemony of such union would naturally fall to Hawaii. H. M.'s Government were prepared to undertake the work of negotiations to secure separate recognition of their independence.

This certainly reads like the plan of a high and unselfish mind. Here was no forcible annexation, or annexation at all, against which the anti-imperialists of today inveigh.

It is a probable, however, that this expression of Hawaii's purposes was tempered somewhat to meet the situation, and that the part marked out for Hawaii was made only as prominent as seemed feasible. Already, Gibson must have been aware of the obstacles he was likely to meet, both at home and abroad. If he was not then, he was shortly to become so. And we find him, therefore, from the first (as we have seen), assuming an attitude rather of defense by which he sought to excuse his contemplated policy on the ground of historical precedent, and of reiterated requests for Hawaii's aid and intercession.

In a letter to Carter the February following, he refers in detail to "the more important applications that have been made to Hawaii for advice, for help or actual annexation," enumerating the cession of the Stewart group in 1863; the recognition of the Steinberger Government in Samoa (1875) a petition for annexation from the chiefs and old men of the Island of Tapiteuea (Gilberts) 1878, a request for recognition and a treaty of amity and friendship (1880), and a proposition of cession from the chiefs of Butaritari and Apaiang (Gilberts) 1882.

In the above resume of Polynesian relations, the reference to the Stewart Island cession is the most interesting, as it recalls the first and the most notable, until the Samoan mission, efforts in this direction.

I have never heard from anybody who knew the two, a comparison suggested between the two most remarkable occupants of the Hawaiian Foreign Office. But in the State papers on this subject there is a striking resemblance between those of Robert Crichton Wyllie and Walter Murray Gibson. Certainly the mission of Bush, Kalakaua's "Envoy Extraordinary to the Courts of Samoa and Tonga and High Commissioner to the High Chiefs and Peoples of Polynesia," found its prototype in that of St Julien, their Majesties, the III. and IV. Kamehameha's "Political Commissioner and Commissioner and Commercial Agent to the Independent ruling chiefs of the Islands, and Archipelagoes of

Southern Polynesia." We have seen with what an unselfish purpose Hawaii entered upon her new policy, as unfolded by Kalakaua's Prime Minister. Compare this with Wyllie's reply to St. Julien's letter conveying the articles of convention executed at Sydney February 10th, 1855, between St. Julien and John Webster, styled "the Sovereign Chief and Proprietor of the Group of Islands in the Stewart Islands, " which ceded to the Hawaiian King all Webster's rights of sovereignty and proprietorship. Wyllie writes that the consideration of the cession had been postponed by resolution of the King and Privy Council, which resolution directed the Foreign Minister to have communication with the Bible and Missionary Societies of the Kingdom on the subject of making efforts for the moral and religious improvement of the people of the Stewart Islands. * "You are to understand," Wyllie writes, "that the King, having only recently escaped the danger of annexation for his own Kingdom, has no desire to apply the principle to the territory or others, but his Majesty most ardently desires to extend education, christianity and civilization among the barbarous tribes of Polynesia." On March 4, 1856, Wyllie notifies St. Julien that on the 29th ult., the King resolved to accept the sovereignty of the Stewart Islands, but solely for the good of the natives, and without expecting any revenue from them, or incurring any pecuniary or political responsibility on their account. All this Wyllie adds, is to be put into the articles "clear and explicit and to be explained to the natives." With the vague and uncertain terms of this letter it is intimated in a letter from Creighton, Foreign Minister, August 4, 1886, St. Julien was dissatisfied, and it is not known whether his representative ever took any action looking to an exercise of his sovereign or proprietary rights. As confirming the strength of the historical parallel to Bush's mission, it is to be noted that in this letter, Creighton, while expressing regret that no definite action was taken regarding the Stewart Island cession, writes: "A new departure in the policy of the Government has been taken, and the Powers having interests in Pacific waters have been informed of this change of

policy. Of course it follows lines laid down broadly at the time St. Julien's commission issued, and independence (dependence)? must be had upon moral rather than upon material force." Compare also this letter with the letter of Gibson to Carter, announcing the commissioning of Bush January 8, 1887. "His Majesty feels that this course now taken, is on his part a solemn duty, which on account of the opportunities he and Hawaii enjoy, he owes to his brother chiefs of Polynesia, whose islands should not remain in the position of being mere waifs to be seized upon by the first strong hand that is stretched out to take them."

Before considering the history of the Samoan mission, let us look at the situation in which Hawaii, by the events of this period, was placed in its relations to the United States, and other Powers, for these were to give this mission an importance its authors never dreamed of. No time more unpropitious could have been chosen. Recent events had fixed on Samoa the attention of the three treaty Powers, and the conference then about to open at Washington had been agreed to on the basis of the maintenance of the status quo. Germany ever watchful and ever suspicious of America's designs on Samoa, and even then contemplating her coup d'etat there in the event of failing to have her own way at the conference, professed to find in Bush's mission an attempt by the United States to gain an advantage in the situation. American supremacy in Hawaii was of course acknowledged, and ultimate annexation foreseen. The trend of events was emphasized by the pending ratification of the convention extending the treaty of 1875. Germany saw in the cession clause of this treaty and the Hawaii mission to Samoa, the Eagle poising over Hawaii with one claw in Pearl Harbor and the other stretched out to strike into the vitals of Samoan sovereignty. And to her mind the fact that the American representative at Apia had been charged with Hawaiian Consular duties, and that the first result of Bush's mission had been the appointment by Malietoa of the Hawaiian Minister at Washington as his Samoan Majesty's representative there, confirmed this view. But Bismarck's application to Bayard

of the standard of his own diplomacy, was as ludicrous as it was unjust. For, judged by that standard, Bayard was but a babe. A gentleman without fear and without reproach, Bayard carried into official intercourse the high rules that governed his intercourse with his friends. Deception was an art unknown to him, and his saddest experiences in his diplomatic career resulted from his taking his fellow diplomats at their word, when the world knows, and it is the world's fault that it is so, that the true diplomat does this only at his peril.

To return to the Samoan mission, the position of Carter at Washington must have been anything, but enviable.

Although Gibson professed the utmost solicitude lest the United States should not look with favor on his plans, he displayed the greatest jealousy at any attempt to increase America's influence and position in Hawaii. He even instructed Carter to ascertain if she would relinquish her claims to Midway Is., in H. M.'s favor. As regards the Pearl Harbor cession Gibson seems to have been almost bitter, and instructed Carter "that an arrangement to grant exclusive rights to the use of any harbor to the United States, or indeed to any power whatsoever, is one which cannot be entertained by this country, no matter what the form of words in which the proposition may be placed before us."

To carry out such instructions, to remain loyal to his convictions and his sovereign at the same time, must have been no easy task, and if his own good sense did not lead him to anticipate the opposition the Samoan mission was to assure, he was not long to be kept in ignorance.

As was to be expected, the first note of disapprobation was sounded by the British Foreign Office, another instance without doubt where Downing Street received its inspiration, if not its orders, from the Wilhelmstrasse. On the 23rd of January, 1887, Gibson informs Carter that Wodehouse, the British Commissioner at Honolulu, requests that no interference be made by Hawaii in the affairs of Samoa.

Meanwhile, the preparation for the mission had gone merrily ahead, and on the 22nd of December Bush received his commission. His instructions recited at length the views we have seen already expressed. His mission was described "as one of friendship and courtesy from one Polynesian monarch to another." As gifts, Bush was to have been the bearer, but the insignia was delayed, of the "Grand Cross of the Royal Order of the Star of Oceanica," an order specially instituted to decorate the kings and chiefs of Polynesia, and those who may have contributed to the welfare and advancement of Polynesian communities. Bush was also to present the Samoan monarch with a carriage and pair of horses.

Bush was instructed if, after consideration of existing circumstances, he found this expedient, to express to Malietoa regret that any portion of his subjects should be in rebellion against him, and also the solicitude with which H. M. regards the recent intervention of foreign powers in the affairs of Samoa. "He was cautioned to have it understood by the expressions that they involve no pledges on the part of H. M.'s government to render any assistance." And then followed the important point. "If, however, in response to these private and confidential assurances of His Majesty's sympathy, any advances or proposals should come from King Malietoa pointing to such an alliance between Hawaii and Samoa as would give to the former a right to speak authoritatively to foreign powers on behalf of the independence of Samoa, you are to express your belief that such an alliance or confederation of the two countries, if made close enough to render them but one state in their relations to foreign powers, will meet with acceptance here, and you will please encourage the Government of Samoa to make such proposition directly to H. M. through you or by an envoy from King Malietoa, and you are also at liberty to do all in your power to assist in formulating such a proposition privately, but not officially." The question of the extent of the rebellion was one of the utmost importance, and Bush was advised to devote much attention and some portion of the funds of

the mission to its unravelment. It was suggested that he might act as a peacemaker. This whole question was treated with the skill of a master hand. It was indeed a subject which required delicate treatment both in the instructions and on the spot. For it was well known that Germany was behind Tamasese, and it would not do to offend so great a power by inquiring into her official conduct. On the other hand, such inquiry must not give rise to suspicion on Malietoa's part "that the friendly and outspoken recognition which King Kalakaua has given him is in the slightest degree hesitating or insincere."

Bush's further course was to depend on the result of the Samoan mission.

His instructions were, it will be seen, well framed for the purpose he had in view, and certainly beyond criticism in temper and tone.

Gibson had wisely dispatched his envoy before the gathering storm clouds burst, and meanwhile he was conducting negotiations for the purchase of a vessel to follow him. It appears that it was hoped such a vessel might be obtained as a gift. On the 19th of January, 1887, Gibson writes to Hoffnung, Charge at London, that H. M. had written to Lord Charles Beresford proposing the purchase of a British gunboat of the "Satellite" class, "a hope is entertained that His Lordship and other members of the British Admiralty may see in the royal request an opportunity to assist the Government of Hawaii with a serviceable vessel at a nominal cost, or as a gift to His Hawaiian Majesty." A month later Gibson notifies Bush of the purchase of the "Explorer," to be fitted out as a training ship for the Reformatory School boys, to carry six guns and two gatling guns. Her establishment was to consist of 63 officers and men. On the same date Gibson also writes that H. M. proposes to send a church and school house to Samoa, and a Hawaiian teacher and preacher. The United States Minister at Honolulu was informed that the total expense of the vessel when ready for sea, including the original cost, \$20,000,

would amount to \$35,000. As a matter of fact, this 170-ton vessel cost \$50,000 before she got out of port.

On his arrival at Apia, Bush proceeded energetically to his task, and was able to report officially a cordial reception by Malietoa, and soon after "even his willingness to favorably consider a plan for confederation with material assistance to King Malietoa, if such plan seemed desirable to the Samoans." Privately Bush writes to his sovereign in a way that casts an interesting sidelight on the negotiations. Under date of Jan. 27, 1887, he writes :

"A week after we had removed into our new quarters, we had the honor of entertaining H. M. Malietoa and his cabinet and officials. This affair was, under the circumstances, a success, although, as Your Majesty is fully aware from your own experience abroad, expensive. * * * After our menu had been disposed of, we settled down to wine and speeches, and I pointed out the advantages of confederation, and I ventured to put forward that I firmly believed Your Majesty's Government could be induced to assist him pecuniarily with a salary of \$5,000 to \$6,000 a year." These negotiations were brought to a successful conclusion on the 17th of February, and the treaty was ratified and proclaimed at Honolulu on the 21st of March.

By this treaty Malietoa freely and voluntarily bound himself "to enter into a political confederation with H. M. Kalakaua," etc. The ratification by Kalakaua followed the same language, but with this saving clause, "subject to the obligations which H. M. Malietoa may be under to those foreign powers with which he and the people of Samoa and the Government thereof have at this time any treaty relations, enjoying and promising our royal word," etc.

Copies of the document were forwarded to Carter at Washington for the information of the United States and of Germany. He was instructed to announce that Tonga and the Hervey, Ellice

and Gilbert Islands would be invited to join the proposed confederation.

The saving clause in the treaty was inserted, doubtless, because of intimations that could not be misunderstood. Germany had signified that she would tolerate no interference by Hawaii in Samoa. Thus two months before the departure of the "Kaimiloa," the mission to Samoa had practically collapsed.

Nevertheless, Gibson went ahead, addressing through Carter the Treaty Powers on the subject. Bismarck did not conceal that he regarded the Hawaiian action as one of impertinence. Lord Salisbury, who would gladly have been rid of the whole question, continued complaisant to Germany, and even though this must lead to German annexation. As for Bayard, he could do nothing else than accept Germany's benevolent assurances, and professedly at least, to hope for the security of Samoan independence through the co-operation then undertaken by the three powers, and therefore politely to discourage the mission of Bush and the "Kaimiloa."

It is a strange fact of Hawaiian history that the one great power with which Hawaii has ever been at peace at home and by which she has never been there threatened or molested, although the commercial interests of the citizens of that Power are scarcely second to any in the Islands, should have made the Samoan mission almost a "casus belli." Stevenson aptly described the German attitude: "The Germans looked on from the first with natural irritation that a Power of the powerlessness of Hawaii should thus profit by its undeniable footing in the family of nations, and send embassies and make believe to have a navy and bark and snap at the heels of the great German Empire."

It is not too much to say that so seriously did the Germans regard the Hawaiian action that only the suspicion that in some way the United States was really involved in the mission, prevented the German captain from blowing the "Kaimiloa" out of the water. And it is probable that this is what would have actu-

ally happened at the time of the declaration of war against Malietoa had the "Kaimiloa" been still at Apia. For in Bismarck's dispatch in which he instructs the German Minister at Washington to notify Bayard of the intended action against Malietoa, he makes the threat distinctly. After ascribing to the "uncalled-for intermeddling of the Hawaiian Government the disturbed condition of affairs in Samoa," Bismarck goes on to say: "In case Hawaii, whose King acts according to financial principles which it is not desirable to extend to Samoa, should try to interfere in favor of Malietoa, the King of the Sandwich Islands would thereby enter into a state of war with us."

By the middle of April, German hostility was made painfully apparent. On April 16th Gibson writes Bush: "Germany does recognize Tamasese as equal in authority to Malietoa," and on the 7th of May to Carter: "I have just seen a copy of a dispatch addressed by the German Foreign Minister to Lord Salisbury expressing the hope that the Government of Her Majesty will not consent that Hawaii take part in the proposed conference at Washington," and to Bush to the same effect.

Still undaunted, Gibson on this same date attempts a stout reply to the objections put forward by Bayard. He details the expenses attaching to the trip of the "Kaimiloa" and then, appealing to sentiment—in which appeals he was an adept—adds "she starts out on a mission of mercy to look after the crew of the General Siegel," (an American ship wrecked on French Frigate Shoals).

At about this time Bush was supplanted by Henry F. Poor, the Secretary of the Legation.

In this summary removal I have always believed that His Royal Master made something of a scapegoat of Bush. Certainly, Bush had carried out instructions faithfully; he had secured the agreement for Confederation; he had reported fully and accurately on the questions into which he was directed to inquire, and in whatever color his conduct, or that of the mission, has been painted,

there was assuredly nothing in this which his Sovereign would have himself deemed reprehensible had he been personally present. The chief factor in securing Bush's recall was a letter written by a halfcaste, which was proved to be forgery. Another foreigner whose presence in Samoa has been a standing cause of native dissension was also enlisted against Bush. That both these men were instrumental in bringing about Bush's downfall should certainly count for much in the latter's favor.

Whatever may be said to the credit of Bush and his successor, whose reports on Samoa are really most excellent, there is little to be said for the career of the "Kaimiloa" herself. There was not lacking in this a single element of the opera bouffe. The mission was foredoomed to failure before she started, and orders for her return awaited at Apia her arrival. In Poor's final report he writes that at first she produced a good impression, but that things soon changed and she became a disgrace to her flag. He praises the conduct of the Reform School boys, but with a few exceptions the marines and white sailors behaved badly. The ship was in a continued state of insubordination, and Jackson, the captain, was unfit to command, and Poor was forced to appoint a sailing master. Her sailing orders were given her the 23d of July, but not until the 8th of August did she finally clear out of Apia. She was ordered to proceed directly to Honolulu, but went instead to Pago-Pago harbor, where she remained while her crew bartered muskets for pigs and the captain her plated service to the chief of the bay for similar considerations. She finally reached Honolulu on the 23d of September, thirty-two days on the way.

Malietoa had intended coming on the "Kaimiloa" to Honolulu, but the change of Ministry forbade. So the Sovereigns of the proposed confederations never met. The net gain to Malietoa was a uniform and cocked hat and the decoration of the Star of Oceanica, an order which will rank in history with the order of Acrossi, founded by St. Julien for a similar purpose, of which the sover-

eign was Kamehameha III. The church and school house, the carriages and horses never materialized. But Malietoa had no occasion to mourn these. Rather might he congratulate himself that the solicitous attentions of his brother monarch had not cost him his country, and even his life.

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